

## Message Text

SECRET

PAGE 01 SALT T 00330 041403Z

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ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 DODE-00 CIAE-00 INRE-00

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FM USDEL SALT TWO GENEVA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2761

S E C R E T SALT TWO GENEVA 0330

EXDIS/SALT

DEPT ALSO PASS DOD

SPECAT EXCLUSIVE FOR SECDEF

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1

TAGS: PARM

SUBJ: SALT NEGOTIATIONS REVIEW (SALT TWO-768)

IN ORDER TO REVIEW WHERE WE STAND VIS-A-VIS WASHINGTON PRIOR TO MY DEPARTURE ON SEPTEMBER 11, AND TO MAKE SURE WE ARE ON THE SAME WAVE LENGTH, THE FOLLOWING IS A SUMMARY OF MY UNDERSTANDING TOGETHER WITH MY COMMENTS:

1. ALTHOUGH SEMENOV CONTINUES TO PRESS ME ON THEIR PROPOSAL FOR ARTICLE IX (ASM'S ON AIRCRAFT OTHER THAN HEAVY BOMBERS), WHICH HE TABLED ON AUGUST 15, I AM CONTINUING TO AVOID ANY REPLY (SALT TWO-728).

2. PENDING FURTHER INSTRUCTIONS, I HAVE DEFERRED TABLING THE A CRUISEMISSILE DEFINITION CONTAINED IN STATE 197860.

3. ALTHOUGH WHEN A SUITABLE OPPORTUNITY PRESENTS ITSELF I WILL TELL SEMENOV IN ANY EVENT PRIOR TO MY DEPARTURE FOR WASHINGTON, THAT 12 MONTHS PERIOD FOR DISMANTLING OR DESTRUCTION OF VEHICLES EXCESS TO 2,400 AGGREGATE IS ENTIRELY TOO LONG, I HAVE NOT AND DO NOT INTEND TO ENGAGE IN FURTHER DISCUSSION

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 SALT T 00330 041403Z

OF THIS MATTER HERE UNLESS OTHERWISE INSTRUCTED (SALT TWO-743).

4. I WOULD HOPE SHORTLY TO RECEIVE INSTRUCTIONS THAT WOULD ENABLE ME TO TABLE AGREEMENT LANGUAGE COVERING OUR PROPOSAL FOR BANNED SYSTEMS UNDER ARTICLE X (SALT TWO-745).

5. IT WOULD OBVIOUSLY BE HELPFUL, ESPECIALLY PRIOR TO MY CONSULTATION WITH THE NAC, TO HAVE SOME INDICATION OF OUR THINKING ON THE SOVIET NON-CIRCUMVENTION PROPOSAL FOR ARTICLE XIII (SALT TWO-750).

6. GUIDANCE PRIOR TO MY DEPARTURE ON SUBSEQUENT NEGOTIATIONS (ARTICLE XVI), SOVIET FORMULA ON FOB'S, (ARTICLE X) AND RAPID RELOAD (PARA 7 (C) ARTICLE IV), AS SET FORTH IN SALT TWO-760, SHOULD ENABLE ME TO MAKE SOME PROGRESS HERE ON THOSE ITEMS.

7. IT WOULD ALSO BE HELPFUL IF I COULD HAVE WASHINGTON'S REACTIONS TO OUR PROPOSED DRAFT FOR ARTICLE XX (ENTRY INTO FORCE) AS CONTAINED IN SALT TWO-761.

8. PENDING FURTHER INSTRUCTIONS, I DO NOT INTEND TO TAKE ANY INITIATIVE HERE ON PARAS 8 AND 9 OF ARTICLE II (DEFINITIONS) BUT WOULD LIKE TO BE IN A POSITION TO MOVE ON ALL OTHER DEFINITIONS IN CONNECTION WITH OR AS SOON AS WE CAN ARRIVE AT SOMETHING ACCEPTABLE FOR THE MIRV SYSTEM DEFINITION. IN THIS CONNECTION, SUBJECT TO ANY OTHER VIEWS WASHINGTON MAY HAVE, I PROPOSE TO ACCEPT THE SOVIET APPROACH FOR COMBINING A MISSILE AND LAUNCHER DEFINITION ALONG THE LINES OF THE DRAFT THAT GENERAL ROWNY GAVE GENERAL TRUSOV APRIL 21 (MEMCON A-840). ON HEAVY BOMBERS I WOULD, OF COURSE, RETAIN BACKFIRE IN OUR DRAFT AS WELL AS BOMBER VARIANTS AS EMBODIED IN OUR PHRASE "HOWEVER CONFIGURED." WE WOULD, OF COURSE, INTRODUCE THE PHRASE "CAPABLE OF RANGES" IN ACCORDANCE WITH PARA 6 (B) OF STATE 170798. I WOULD HOPE THAT BY THE TIME THAT WE MAKE ANY SUCH MOVE THAT WE WOULD ALSO BE ABLE TO INCLUDE A CRUISE-MISSILE DEFINITION (SEE PARA "2" ABOVE).

9. IT WOULD ALSO BE HELPFUL TO HAVE AS SOON AS POSSIBLE WASHINGTON'S RESPONSES TO OUR RECOMMENDATION FOR HANDLING SOVIET PROPOSAL ON ARTICLE VII (SALT TWO-763), AS WELL AS ON THE "OPERATIONAL LAUNCHERS WHEREVER LOCATED" QUESTION  
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 SALT T 00330 041403Z

(SALT TWO-764).

10. RE PARA 3 ABOVE, JCS REP VERY MUCH FEELS THAT WE SHOULD NOT AT THIS TIME INDICATE TO SOVIETS THAT WE ARE PREPARED TO ACCEPT ANY DELAY PAST OCTOBER 3, 1977, IN REACHING 2,400 AGGREGATE, BUT RATHER MAINTAIN POSITION CONTAINED IN PARA ONE OF SALT TWO-743. HE FEELS WE HAVE A STRONG CASE FOR THIS POSITION AS PUT FORTH IN OUR PLENARY STATEMENT. IF WE CANNOT GET SOVIET AGREEMENT,

HE BELIEVES THAT ADHERING TO OCTOBER 3 DATE WILL PUT US IN A STRONGER POSITION TO INSIST THAT DELIVERY VEHICLES IN EXCESS OF 2,400 BE PUT IN A NON-OPERATIONAL CONDITION BY OCTOBER 3, 1977, WITH DISMANTLING AND DESTRUCTION TO BE COMPLETED EXPEDITIOUSLY WITHIN A FEW MONTHS.

11. RE PARA 8 ABOVE, JCS REP VERY MUCH FEELS THAT CONTINUING WITHHOLD AGREEMENT ON OTHER DEFINITIONS CONSTITUTES A USEFUL INCENTIVE TO OBTAIN SOVIET AGREEMENT ON PARAS 8 AND 9, ARTICLE II (ONCE A MIRV ALWAYS A MIRV AND HEAVY MISSILE DEFINITION) AND THEREFORE, PENDING FURTHER DEVELOPMENTS WITH RESPECT TO PARAS 8 AND 9, WE SHOULD NOT AT THIS TIME MAKE ANY MOVE WITH RESPECT TO OTHER DEFINITIONS EXCEPT FOR CONTINUING PRESENT EFFORT TO ARRIVE AT MIRV SYSTEM DEFINITION.  
JOHNSON

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